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Selections.

From Hansard's Reports.

DEBATE IN THE SENATE

ON THE JOINT RESOLUTION OF CONGRATULATION TO THE FRENCH.

Washington, Thursday, March 30, 1848.

The Joint Resolution of Congratulations to the French offered by Mr. Allen coming up in its order, it was read a second time.

Mr. Baldwin then moved that the resolution be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Allen spoke at some length on the subject of this motion. He considered the resolution an isolated proposition, without detail, and presenting a single question to the minds of the Senate; and it was therefore unnecessary to refer it either to a Standing or Select Committee. He considered the present a favorable opportunity for reviving and reviewing the elementary principles of liberty, and expressed his intention of going into the subject to a much greater extent, when the time for discussion should arrive.

Mr. Hale—I wish, Sir, to offer an amendment, and I beg to say a few words in reference to it. When we were counselled by the President of the United States to establish a mission to Rome on account of the occurrence of "recent political events," there was a good deal of discussion as to what the Pope had done. An honourable Senator from Mississippi (Mr. Foote) thought that the Pope had done a great deal; while, on the other hand, an honourable Senator from North Carolina (Mr. Badger) thought that his Holiness had as yet accomplished very little. To me nose now before us I think it must be admitted that something has been done. The French Revolution has not been altogether fruitless. It presents something tangible. I propose, Sir, that our resolutions of congratulation should have some meaning, and, therefore, submit the following amendment to the resolution of the Senator from Ohio:

And in the eighth line, after the word Government, these words—

"And manifesting the sincerity of their purpose by instituting measures for the immediate emancipation of the slaves of all the Colonies of the Republic."

When we send such a resolution as that, Sir, the French people will be informed of the object of our sympathy. It is quite true that in our own Government they have indeed done something tangible in the cause of liberty and humanity, on account of which the eyes of the American people is filled with joy and gladness. The French people have not made a mere empty declaration of their attachment to the cause of liberty. They have not declared that they would be free and put down their fellow creatures in bondage. They have thus done something which deserves the congratulations of the whole world. I move that the amendment be printed for the use of the Senate, and that it be referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

Mr. Baldwin—I do not perceive the propriety for the reference of the resolution, and it is obvious that there must be some debate; I think that the proper course will be to fix a day for its consideration.

Mr. Hale—For myself, I should prefer the course indicated by the Senator from Louisiana, but I made the motion to refer in order to meet the views of my friend from Connecticut, (Mr. Baldwin.)

The question was then taken by yeas and nays, and the motion to refer was lost.

Mr. Calhoun—I do not perceive the slightest necessity for referring this resolution to the Committee, and on that point I entirely concur with the views of the mover of it. The resolution is simple; it requires no examination of details, and the Senate is just as competent to form an opinion of its merits as any Committee can possibly be. I do not intend to enter at present into the great question presented in the resolution. To act upon it now would be very indigenous. I should myself the people of France have done much. They have made a mighty revolution. They have overthrown an old and powerful monarchy; and decreed the establishment of a Republic. All this they have accomplished in a very short period, and without any extraordinary bloodshed or confusion. All this is calculated to astonish our world, so far as the action of the French people extends, our lively sympathy. But the time has not yet arrived for congratulation.

Much remains to be done. The real work to be performed is yet before them. They have decreed a Republic, but it remains for them to establish a Republic. If the French people do succeed in that—if they shall prove themselves to be as wise in constructing a proper Constitution, as they have proved themselves to be skilful in demolishing the old form of Government—if they shall really form a Constitution which shall on one hand guard against violence and anarchy, and on the other against oppression of the people, they will have achieved, indeed, a great work. They will then be entitled to the congratulations not only of this country, but of the whole civilized world. But if they fail, what then? What then? Can there be a more important inquiry? If France fail, under what form of Government will she find herself? I suppose it will be out of the question to go back to a Constitutional Monarchy. The Bourbon family, in all its branches, is, I take it, now odious in the extreme to France. They will hardly think of reinstating the old imperial dynasty of Napoleon. An aristocracy they cannot think of; what then must be the result if they fail to establish a Republic? If it come to contests within, or wars without—if it shall be necessary to resort to force, to repress internal discord, or overcome foreign assailants, in such a case—France may find herself in the embrace of a military despotism. Such a result would furnish no ground for congratulation, either on our part or that of the civilized world.

This is, indeed, a mighty movement. It is pregnant with mighty consequences. Whether the result shall prove to be a blessing or a curse to France and the world, depends upon what is coming, rather than upon what has been already done. A revolution is itself is no great thing. The revolution accomplished by the French people is indeed a wonderful event, —the most striking in my opinion in history; but evils. It is therefore premature to offer our congratulations merely upon a revolution. We must look to the consequences and the end. We must await the termination of the movement. I wish well to France—sincerely do I wish her well! There is no man that breathes who has a deeper or more profound love of Constitutional Government, than I have—not one. But I have never known a period when there is so much to counsel wise, deliberate, cautious procedure. Great event are before us. There lives not the man who can say what another week may bring forth.

I offer no opinion as to the sucess or failure of the French people in this effort. I see tremendous difficulties in the way of success—difficulties resulting from the social condition of France and the composition of her people. I see, on the other hand, a good deal of encouragement. The success of the French people will, in my opinion, depend, at least in a very high degree, upon the fact whether she can prevent war—that again depending upon two circumstances: one, whether she may have the self-control to abstain from improper interference with surrounding countries; the other, whether they may have the moderation and good sense to abstain from assailing her. Thus far the leading power of Europe has generally discovered great good sense and foresight. Great Britain has done as she ought to have done; and I trust that every power in Europe will mark and look on, giving France a fair opportunity to consummate the great work in which she has engaged. It is due to France, to the civilized world, and to themselves, that European powers, should observe strict non-intervention. If she succeed, it will be an admonition to all Europe, that the time has arrived when they must agree to yield to liberty in a constitutional and a stable form. Thrones will fade away, and freedom and republican institutions become the order of the day. If, on the contrary, standing aloof and avoiding all contact, France shall fail in this great undertaking, under a fair trial, without the interference of other powers, it will do more to put down liberty under a republican form of Government, than any other event which could occur.

Now I think that it is due all round that there should be a free and full step to that, in my opinion, consists in quiet looking on and as little interference as possible. To France, the people everywhere are entitled to our sympathy; but I do contend that the Government themselves ought to be prudent and abstemious in the expression of their sentiments. If we, as a Government, extend our congratulations in this formal and solemn manner, others may take the opposite and denunciatory course. Between the two that result will be produced which must inevitably overthrow the action—an appeal to arms. That is one reason why our Government, looking to the interests of France alone, ought to be, and I think being, ought to be cautious and abstemious in making a move. My opinion, then, is that the wisest course will be to lay our congratulations upon the table, and not act with precipitation. I move, then, to lay the resolution on the table.

Mr. Dickinson—I ask for the yeas and nays.

Mr. Underwood—Will the gentleman from South Carolina withdraw his motion for a moment, that I make a single remark?

Mr. Calhoun—I cannot withdraw the motion.

The call for the yeas and nays being seconded they were ordered, and were taken with the following result:

Yeas—Messrs. Bagby, Baldwin, Benton, Berrien, Butler, Calhoun, Davis of Miss., Dayton, Hunter, Johnson, Miller, Phelps, Upham, and Yulee—14.

Nays—Messrs. Allen, Ashley, Atchison, Atherton, Bradbury, Breese, Cass, Clayton, Crittenden, Davis, of Mass., Dickinson, Dix, Fitzgerald, Foote, Hale, Hannegan, Houston, Johnson, of Md., Johnson, of Ga., Lewis, Moor, Niles, Rusk, Sevier, Turney, and Underwood—24 and Westcott—1.

So the motion to lay the resolution on the table was ost agreed to.

Mr. Allen—In a great question like this, I would not be guilty of the petty trickery of trying to force a vote of the Senate, under the impulse of a great feeling recently excited by so great an event. I do not desire the decision of this honourable judgment of the Senate, if this body can be supposed to be capable of such a judgment upon such a proposition as this, but a full consideration of the subject. I desire a full view of all the facts upon which that judgment is to be founded; and in order that there may be time for that full view to be taken up, I move that the resolution be made the special order of the day for the first Monday in May.

Mr. Baldwin—There is a motion to refer now before the Senate.

The Presiding Officer—The motion is to postpone till the first Monday in May.

Mr. Johnson of Maryland—I understand that the motion was to make the resolution the special order for that day.

Mr. Crittenden—Does not the motion to refer take precedence?

The Presiding Officer—The motion to postpone is to order.

Mr. Underwood—I concur entirely with the remarks made by the Senator from South Carolina; but I voted against his motion to lay the resolution upon the table, because I conceive it is placed me in a false position. If we had laid the resolution upon the table it would have been an act from which the French people might have drawn unfavourable to those who so voted, in reference to their sympathy with the great movement which has been made by the people of France. All these years we have been free to admit that my heart is with them in every step which they have taken. I have rejoiced in every movement which the French people have made from time to time with a view to the establishment of a Republic. But although these have been my feelings, and now are my feelings, strongly cherished, I am ashamed to confess that the fact that in all their former efforts they have signally failed. That signal failure, heretofore, admonishes me of the propriety of observing caution and caution recommended by the Senator from South Carolina. I think with, him, that it is wise to await the result of this great movement. If France succeed in that—if they shall prove themselves to be as wise in constructing a proper Constitution, as they have proved themselves to be skilful in demolishing the old form of Government—if they shall really form a Constitution which shall on one hand guard against violence and anarchy, and on the other against oppression of the people, they will have achieved, indeed, a great work. They will then be entitled to the congratulations not only of this country, but of the whole civilized world. But if they fail, what then? What then? Can there be a more important inquiry? If France fail, under what form of Government will she find herself? I suppose it will be out of the question to go back to a Constitutional Monarchy. The Bourbon family, in all its branches, is, I take, now odious in the extreme to France. They will hardly think of reinstating the old imperial dynasty of Napoleon. An aristocracy they cannot think of; what then must be the result if they fail to establish a Republic? If it come to contests within, or wars without—if it shall be necessary to resort to force, to repress internal discord, or overcome foreign assailants, in such a case—France may find herself in the embrace of a military despotism. Such a result would furnish no ground for congratulation, either on our part or that of the civilized world.

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I offer no opinion as to the sucess or failure of the French people in this effort. I see tremendous difficulties in the way of success—difficulties resulting from the social condition of France and the composition of her people. I see, on the other hand, a good deal of encouragement. The success of the French Government from day to day, it appears to me that human wisdom could not have devised a more prudent course than that adopted, and intended to effect a radical revolution. They desire to make one new Government Republican in all its principles in the place of one which was founded in the way in a manner which discovers that the monarchy in it underrated their business. Navies we accept in this country, and legislative assembled, which has discovered so much skill and wisdom as has thus far characterized their proceedings.

Why, then, I ask, should we defer our congratulations? What credit shall we reflect upon ourselves, or to what support shall we render to France, if we withhold our sympathy and our congratulations until the struggle is over? Now is the time when our sympathy is needed. Now is the time when we should extend all the encouragement we can, to support which the expression of our feelings will afford. Now is the time when they most deserve our sympathy. Now is the time when our sympathy should be given. They would not need it so much after the success is once established, and the work is completed. We propose to make our sympathy dependent upon their success! I suppose if they fail we are to regard them as rebels; and that it is only in the event of their success that they are to be regarded as patriots! Our judgment with regard to this great movement ought to be the judgment engaged is to depend upon the success, and not upon the work itself?

I do not agree with the gentleman from South Carolina, who says that if the people of France fail, the failure will do more injury to the cause of liberty than all we are to regard them as rebels; and that they fail now, you will find that the Government will be generated which will bring success with it. That I do not see. It may be that they may leap at a single bound from anarchy to despotism. It may be that they may leap from comparative despotism to freedom. It may be that will require a slower, a more protracted process, in order to the establishment of liberty. Subjecting them to trials and sacrifices. The Revolution may be the work of years. But whatever may be the result, I say once more, slow or fast, we are with France in this glorious work, and the sentiment of those sympathies should be prompt, full, and free.

The fact that the people of France have dethroned the King and peacefully decreed a Republic—the fact that they have abolished the hereditary orders of nobility—the fact that they have decreed universal suffrage to France—the fact that they have been enabled to act with such a majority, and such wisdom, as to combine all classes, parties, and factions in France—the Church, the Army, the Navy—in one body of brotherhood, acting in concert and with unanimity in support of the common cause, inspires great confidence in the success of the movement, and I am unwilling to dampen that hope by the expression of any doubt. The proper declaration of that resolution, and its postponement for the reason stated, that we doubted the success of the Revolution, is one in which I am not prepared to express our sympathy, will have the effect of casting a shade upon this movement.

I am no lover of the amendment presented by the Senator from South Carolina, that the expression of our sympathy and congratulations may elicit counterexpressions from other Governments. If Russia, Prussia, and Austria wish to issue denunciatory declarations, let them do so. Are the people of France to be deterred from the work of emancipation by such sources? Nor at all. But they do feel deeply interested to know what republican America thinks of this movement. The people of France and of Europe are looking to the United States as the only Republic upon earth, or the only one that deserves the name. All Republicans throughout the world look to this country upon us. Prussia, and Austria wish to issue denunciatory declarations, let them do so. Are the people of France to be deterred from the work of emancipation by such sources? Nor at all. But they do feel deeply interested to know what republican America thinks of this movement. The people of France and of Europe are looking to the United States as the only Republic upon earth, or the only one that deserves the name. All Republicans throughout the world look to this country upon us. If Russia,

Mr. Haskell hoped the gentleman from Ohio did not understand him to be a quasi Abolitionist, nor a half-way Slavery man. He believed the institution of Slavery to be of divine origin, and that God in his wisdom had made negroes for the benefit of white men. But, while he believed that he had the right to hold slaves, and Tennessee had the right to uphold the institution of Slavery, and that nobody else had the right to interfere with them, neither he nor she desired to interfere with others.

Mr. Giddings was always glad to be undeceived. If the gentleman from Tennessee had any explanation for his conduct to bear the gentleman say so. But allusion had been made to complexion, and he desired to ask the gentleman where was the line of Mr. Haskell's shade? Was it half white, quarter white, or two-thirds white? If they went to the plantations of some gentleman in the South, various shades of color could be found. Here was a grave question, which came home to his understanding, and he would like to have it answered to fit the line, and how much white blood should flow in the veins of man? If men were to be measured by their complexion, he would respectfully ask gentlemen if the gentleman from Tennessee more stronely than that gentleman could his. Was, then, complexion the rule of right? In God's name in what one of the ten Commandments it come to this, that, in an American Congress, a gentleman could come forth and declare that complexion was the rule of liberty? Why, the French people were darker than either the gentleman from Tennessee or himself.

But, again, his colleague (Mr. Cummins) had taken occasion to say that he was not a propagandist. He (Mr. G.) was a propagandist. He hoped his colleague did not understand the term. He (Mr. G.) would extend liberty wherever humanity could be found—wherever there was man, created in the image of God Maker, to whom God gave power over all other things—and to man in the divinity of his nature would he give liberty. He had, therefore, greatly rejoiced when he read that France had thrown open her slave prisons. But how could this House join in thanks to the French nation for that? Look from that window and behold there they hold the slave-pen, whose gloomy walls, in mute but eloquent terms, proclaim the hypocrisy of the deed. There were husbands, and wives, and children, confined in that prison-house, whose human flesh was an article of commerce. That slave-trade was carried on by the law of Congress, by whose sanction they had seen their servants taken from their very presence by inhuman slave-dealers, and, gagged and manacled, hurried to Slavery. The law by which it was done was their own law, a law passed by Congress, and upheld for years, and which they continued to sustain; and they were about to be supplanting the French because they had stricken the shackles from their own slaves! Now, would it not recoil on themselves? Would not the French shout back upon them with indignation? Would they not look with disgust on such deception and hypocrisy when they had been made mock, ridiculous in their sympathy for a free people? A Congress refusing to stop the traffic in man here is tendering its sympathy across the Atlantic because he has got his freedom elsewhere! Was it not gross hypocrisy, and would it not be so viewed by that people?

He had already detained the House longer than he intended when he rose. He had risen simply to express the feelings which animated his own breast and which he perceived the news of which he had spoken, and his deep and heartfelt sympathy with a people that had shown itself determined to be free; and, having done so, he should resume his seat.

Mr. Bayly said his principal purpose in rising was to exhibit, in all its deformity, the character of the amendment which had been offered by the gentleman from Massachusetts, (Mr. Ashmun,) but before he did so he desired to submit to the House a few remarks in vindication of the motion which he had the honour to submit. On all occasions of this sort, when they were attempting to institute a national action; when they were instituting a proceeding which would attract the attention of other nations of the civilized world, he thought their proceedings ought to be marked by deliberation. . . .

He wished to arrest an effort which was made to seize this occasion, which ought to be one of national rejoicing, and turn it into one of domestic discord. He was surprised at the movement, however; he expected it.—Having been an attentive observer of the proceedings of this House, he had never seen an occasion which ought to have been one of harmony and unanimity on which he had not heard the rawen discordant voice of evil—that of the gentleman from Ohio. Having uniformly before made such exhibitions, of course he looked for it now from the gentleman from Ohio. What was the character of the pending resolutions, and of their proceedings?—Why, they were there as freemen, rejoicing as they ought to rejoice, without reference to party or local feelings, at the commencement of a revolutionary movement, whose tendency was to liberate France and establish a free government of people.

On an occasion such as that the gentleman from Ohio stepped forward, as in bygone years, and sought to change an occasion of national rejoicing into a national jubilee—ing; and this, which ought to be a day of unanimity, to a day of discord. But that was not the worst. When they were here rejoicing that the cause of the despot had crumbled into dust, the gentleman comes here and tries to make the temple of our liberties totter to its ruin.—When they were rejoicing at a movement which their own bright example had originated, the gentleman comes forward and makes a motion, the tendency of which is to destroy that Government whose eminent success has encouraged the spread of liberty throughout the world. He does more: he comes here and tells us that a motion which is a libel on an institution of half the States of this Union, and he declares a principle which stamps hypocrisy on every patriot and statesman of the Revolution. He comes to this hall and denounces negro slavery as inconsistent with the cardinal principle of Republican liberty; and he does that in the hall, while sitting under a Constitution formed by States, every one of which, with one exception, was at the time of its formation a slaveholding State. He comes here and tells us that, in trick Henry, whose eloquence he complimented, who did more than any man to rouse the American people to the Revolutionary struggle, and to procure them for its eminent glories—that man who proclaimed the sentiment, "Give me liberty, or give me death!"—he has offered a proposition which says that that man, during the period and afterwards, until he went to his grave, lived in the violation of republican principles. He has proposed a resolution which is a libel on the character of that man whose victorious sword and whose great moderation, justice, and prudence, did so much to establish our own glorious, free institutions. And what occasion does he select in do all this? I should have at by unmoved on ordinary occasions to see this spirit of discord thrown up amongst us, but on an occasion like this, that ought to be dedicated to better purposes, I have not been able to sit by and see this unpatriotic movement without giving utterance to my feelings as my language will express them.

He did not intend to say a word on the subject of abolition in France, but he agreed with the gentleman from Tennessee that it was a question for France, and for France alone, to decide. He freely admitted that it was a subject with which we had nothing to do. He believed that any intermeddling on his part with that question would be quite as improper as this eternal intermeddling by the gentleman from Ohio here. But, though he had no desire to intermeddle with the abolition of the slaves of the French colonies, he did not rejoice at the hasty and precipitate decree which the Provisional Government had issued.

Mr. J. C. Ingersoll begged leave to state that, if he were not mistaken, the resolution offered by Mr. Arnold, but it was subsequently withdrawn, is pernicious influence on France having been soon discovered. The decree had been withdrawn

feature of this revolution, and distinguishes it from, and exalts it above, next to its almost peaceful character, all other revolutions that were ever accomplished; namely—the *Abolition of Slavery*. Nay,—the editor of the Era set greatly by while the editor of the Union denounced those men, as having insulted the House of Representatives, who had there ventured to point to the act of Emancipation as a proof of the sincerity of the French people! Oh! "sorrowful backbone!"

☞ Judge Shaw, of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, has set aside the verdict of the lower Court, and granted a new trial, in the case of Catherine Linda vs. Erasmus D. Hudson.

HORACE MANN, Whig, has been chosen to succeed J. Q. Adams in the House of Representatives.

ERRATA.—We regret that a number of typographical errors should have occurred in our last number. The following in Mr. Lowell's poem should be corrected.

In the fantastic line of the 1st Stanza, for "maimed" read "*mensed*."

In the eleventh line of the VIIth Stanza, for "rain, and Kingly," read "*erect*," &c.

In the twenty second line of VIIIth Stanza, for "rain, *larklike, he fancies*," read "*he*," &c.

The comma after "loved," in fourth line of the next Stanza should be omitted.

In the letter from Paris also, there were two or three errors, though none that obscured the sense. The reader probably would observe that the sixth in the first line of the introduction should be after "*Paris*," and not after "*mother*."

Notes on New Books.

Hewitt's Journal for March.—Crosby & Nichols, Boston; and Burford & Co. of this city, have the March number of this popular Journal. Its illustrations are unusually good; and we perceive no falling off in the character or variety of its articles. The valuable papers on Capital Punishment, by Frederick Bowron, which were recently referred to by our Dublin correspondent, are continued in this number; and William Howitt contributes an article on the Sugar Question, which may be read with great profit by all who wish to understand that subject. Translations by Mary Howitt, and excellent original articles from several well-known writers, and constant contributors to the Journal, make up the contents of this number.

Blackwood for March.—Leonard, Scott & Co.'s reprint.—Blackwood, for last month, is a great deal more brilliant than it was meant to be. We doubt if Cobden, or George Thompson, or Bright, could read its leading article of twenty pages, and not be amused at the exquisite rage of the writer, and the choice and ingenious abuse he showers upon those distinguished opponents of the Duke of Wellington's scheme of national defence against the French invasion; but the article is infinitely more amusing, coming from the press of Scotland, as it did, almost at the very moment that the exiled royal family of France landed in England. This is a French invasion, which the Duke and his Tory followers little calculated on, and which may, perhaps, defeat in a summary a manner, some of their other calculations. Even this writer in Blackwood may have, by this time, a dim perception of the fact, that there is sometimes something sturdier than standing armies. "Crimes and Remarkable Trials in Scotland," in which the author shows that the real historical Macbeth is a much slandered man, and murdered no more people than Kings generally: an amusing, but very justifiable, tirade against the Town Council of Edinburgh, for altering the city clocks to agree with Greenwich time, to accommodate the railroads; and a review of a new book on Hudson's Bay; with several other articles with hardly a page of wire-like type, make up the number. It is in advance of the English edition, which has not yet been received in this country.

The North British Review for February.—This able Review, the organ of the Anti-National Church party of Great Britain, Messrs. Leonard, Scott, & Co. added last year to their list of Foreign Republications. To the American subscriber it is afforded, when taken separately, at one half the price of the Edinburgh copy, and when taken in conjunction with their other republications, at only one third the price,—or $2. It contains, among its contributors, some of the most distinguished names in the Church party, whose views it advocates, and is now, we believe, under the editorial care of Dr. Hanna, a son-in-law of Dr. Chalmers, its former editor.

It is by no means, however, exclusively devoted to theological subjects. The leading article in the number before us, is upon The Female characters of Goethe and Shakspeare, and is, in fact, a very clear and close analysis of the intellectual character of the great German, "who," as it has been well said by another, "when he remembered his life as a parson, remembered it as a fact." And such is the leading thought in the article in this Review. "The act of Angling" will be relished by all lovers of the "gentle craft," though they may never have cast a line in Scottish stream or lake. Papers upon "Sir John Herschel's Astronomical Discoveries," upon "Colonization from Ireland," "The Scottish Marriage Bill," and one or two others will be deemed of value to the general reader; while others upon "Mariolatry," or the worship of the Virgin Mary by Catholics, "The Hampden Controversy," and the "Works of the late Dr. Chalmers," will be read with avidity by all who take an interest in theological discussions, or are admirers of great theologians.

Domestic Correspondence.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. XXVII.

Special Meeting of the American Society in the Melodeon — French Emancipation.—Mr. Garrison disabled.—Mr. Phillips's Speech.—Treason of Louis Philippe and of America to Liberty and Lafayette.—Untiring Nemesis never wearies nor fails.—Mr. Parker's.—Causes of Hope and Faith.—Birth not maturity the moment of congratulation.—Mr. Channing's.—Shopkeeping sympathy.—Distinctive character of this Revolution.—The bloodstained Negro of the Guillotine.—Spectre-haunted Tyranny.—Intended Address.—Faneuil Hall in weeds and why?—We shut out and how?—The right of nobbomen and of man.—The Grandmother in leading strings.—The Correspondent speaketh reverently of Upholstery.—The de Joinville Ball.—The Prince and the people.—The decorations displayed.—Original mot of Tallyrand.—Fearful luxury.—&c. &c.

BOSTON, April 7th, 1848.

You should have been here last night at the Special Meeting of the American A. S. Society, to express our joyful sympathy with the great act of justice by which the Provisional Government of France has anticipated the birth of the new Republic. The meeting was held in the Melodeon, which was entirely filled, and with as intelligent and discriminating an audience as Boston could supply. Mr. Garrison took the chair about half-past seven, briefly stated the occasion of the meeting, and read the Decree in virtue of which the slave will cease forthwith in the dependencies of France. Unfortunately, the state of his health prevented him from taking a more extended part in the proceedings of the meeting.

After the Resolutions (of which you will of course receive a copy for publication) had been read by Mr. Quincy, with a few remarks, Mr. Wendell Phillips made one of his very best and most impressive speeches, full of thought and emotion fitly uttered and adorned. He shadowed forth the far reaching issues of this great act upon the destinies of our own Slavery. He recounted the treachery of the cunning King to the Republican idea in the person of Lafayette; he described the apparent success and prosperity which had attended on the treason; and then pointed to the inevitable Nemesis which pursued and overtook him, at last, when he seemed to have established himself forever. He, then, denounced the treason of America to the Republican Idea, and closed with a prophecy that Eternal Justice would yet overtake her and a scourge Lafayette, Kosciusko, and Steuben for the faith she had broken with them.

He was followed by Messrs. Theodore Parker and William H. Channing, both in the best mood of their several styles. Mr. Parker drew a favourable augury of the permanence of the new institutions from the moderation shown by the populace in the stormiest hours of the Revolution. He denied that the French people were without a fitting education for self-government, and seconded the idea that it was "*too soon*" to rejoice in a change, the issues of which were yet unknown. "When I see a man born into a house," he said, "of fair proportions and goodly promise, *that* is the time when we grown up!"

Mr. Channing opened in a fine vein of scorn of the peddling spirit in which the news of this great event was received in this country, and the apprehensions of possible damage to our trade which swallowed up all generous sympathy. He dwelt emphatically upon the characteristic feature of this movement that it was the Revolution of the labouring classes, not of an Aristocracy against a Throne, or of the bourgeoisie against the Aristocracy. He contrasted the spirit and character of the French and the American people, and showed the higher hope which the infancy of the New Republic gave to the nations to make amends for the disappointment of our own maturity. He concluded by bringing before our eyes the gigantic negro who stood upon the scaffold in the Place de la Revolution in the Reign of Terror, stripped to the waist, (as the law) said black breast flecked with gore as he shook in the face of the people, one after another, the convulsed heads of the victims of the guillotine. "Such an apparition," he exclaimed, "haunts every land of slaves! Such a spectre disturbs the slumbers of the Tyrants of the French negro islands! Such a ghostly presence drives pauper fear away from our own Southern States! The French Republic has used the only spell of power to exorcise the dire phantom from its own borders. And there are no words of might enough for our deliverance but the magic words of Lamartine,—LE Emancipation!" ☞

It was next voted to send an address to the Provisional Government of thanks and congratulation, and a Committee appointed to prepare and forward the same. The meeting then adjourned in a state of great satisfaction. It is, certainly, not often that they have an opportunity of hearing three speeches of so high an order in one evening.

The meeting should have been held in Faneuil Hall, that being the only appropriate scene of such a joyous solemnity. But, unluckily, the old Hall was not yet out of mourning, and the Committee on Public Buildings had too tender a regard for the hired psaltery of the city to expose it to the risk of detriment from a public meeting. The mourning decorations are kept up to serve for the occasion of President Everett's Funeral Discourse, and in the meantime the liege are kept out lest they may, peradventure, disturb the blackness of the Civic Woe. You must not suppose that I call the Hall a mere pretence to keep us out, for it was not. Other people, with no Anti-Slavery disqualification, have been refused before us. We should have had the Hall, without difficulty, if it were not for the black crape, bombazeen, and alpaca. But it is not a proceeding characteristic of the universal Yankee nation, and of its departments hereof? A Hall is open to the Lord Mayor's Show and to the Fourth of July. In the old lady indeed in her dotage? Or, like many a wise mother before her, has she fallen, in her old age, into the hands of foolish children who justify her not?

Far be it from me to say anything in derogation of the upholstery of Boston. In one of our institutions I revere it accordingly. I well remember when the Ball was given in Faneuil Hall to the Prince de Joinville when Louis Philippe was our "Good and Great Friend," as the credentials of the Foreign ministers have it. All that a forty upholsterer-power could do, at short notice, to decorate the Old Hall, was done. And the result was very creditable to them. The effect was brilliant. But the prince did not seem as much astonished at the magnificence as was expected. The quiet and gentleman-like demeanour of the young man disappointed the citizens. He did n't stare about him at all. So, as the newspapers of the day told us, he was taken up into the gallery and *the decorations pointed out to him!*

The Ball was a very handsome Ball, indeed, and the appointments as good as could be made under the circumstances. But His Royal Highness had, probably, seen quite as handsome ones in his time. We have, probably improved in the arts of logging since the days of the first emigration, but we are not easily expert to astonish foreign visitors of the Palais Royal quite yet. An American gentleman one day, more than thirty years ago, was visiting the Duchesse de Duras, when Talleyrand, the *Diable Boiteux* of a dozen revolutions, came in. Madame de Duras introduced the stranger as an American, and added:

"You remember America, Prince. You surely have not forgotten the balls we were at together in Philadelphia?"

"Ah, no, madame," he replied, with a shrug of recollection, "I remember it well! The Americans are a great people, a magnanimous people. But as for hospitable people!—ha!" And another shrug which none but French shoulders of the ancien regime could have executed.)—"*mais leur luxe est affreux!* but their luxury is frig hiful, indeed!"

D. Y.

Letter from Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, 1st April, 1848.

MR. GAY:—In the course of events, owing to the vigorous blows which have, from time to time, been dealt upon the "peculiar institution," a considerable class has been formed of persons who are not quite satisfied to seem to do nothing for the overthrow of Slavery, and who yet have not the slightest idea of doing anything effectual for the cause;—of either repudiating the Constitution of the country, as a pro-slavery instrument, or of declaring the truth concerning the religion of the country. In this region the Liberty party formed a nucleus round which this material naturally collected. Now this class wanted an organ to define its position before the world; secondarily, after some throes of a nature not very serious, the Pennsylvania Herald was brought into existence. This, however, narrowly escaped being stillborn, and was followed by the American Citizen, which proved to be an abortion. Luckily, the National Era was established about this time, which admirably supplied the wants of the class of whom we alluded to, who were impelled to its support by an affinity perfectly natural, and have ever since given it their hearty aid. I had, not long since, a conversation with an individual of this class, a Quaker, who agreed fully with the editor of that journal, that the suffering of the slaves had been greatly overrated, and was of opinion that their condition was substantially what Dr. Bailey had represented it to be. He also seen capable of originating the conception that some Southern brethren" could, by any possibility, participate upon the principle adopted by the "Irish country squires," who, they say,

"Whene'er the viceroy travels nigh,
Compound with beggars on the way
To lacket up till he goes by,
And so send back his lordship smiling
That Ireland should be deemed so starveling."

To suppose that the Dr. could, from any conceivable motive, hold back or mitigate the truth, is not admissible. Mr. Whittier assumed, some time since, that the third party is the great Anti-Slavery instrumentality of the country, and it follows as a consequence, that as the Era is in organ, that paper is the grand exponent of Anti-Slavery principles. Now we feel quite sensitive on this point in Pennsylvania. We do not make the slightest objection against the establishing of the Era, nor to the promulgation of the sentiments it puts forth on the Anti-Slavery question, however gladly both are welcomed by the milk-and-waters; but we feel keenly, and in proportion to our regard for the cause of the slave, (leaving our personal reputation out of the question,) to the practice of these efforts to identify the long-tried friends of the cause, "faithful found" to the end, with one who can stoop to edit a professedly Anti-Slavery paper whose circulation can be allowed in Washington city, and who could be awarded an office by citizens of the same place as editor of that paper.

By the way, I have an excellent anecdote concerning the Era. I called some months since, on a lady of my acquaintance, formerly an Abolitionist, who, in years gone by, devoted to the cause of the enslaved both zeal and purse. A Liberty party voter, residing in the same neighbourhood, who has laboured diligently to extend the circulation of the Era, had been lamenting her inactivity, and thought that something might be done to reawaken her interest in the cause. In the course of my conversation with her I remarked that I did not know the editor, Standard, nor Freeman, on her table. She replied, with a deprecatory gesture, that she did not see any of them, and that she would not take them out of the post-office, if they were sent to her gratuitously. "But," added she, "we take the National Era, and think it an excellent paper."

It is settled irrevocably, by his friends, that the editor of the Era cannot descend to the support of sectarianism, in whatever guise it may present itself, which you will readily understand exonerates him entirely from declaring the truth in regard to the Church and State. They exhibit a great solicitude for the reputation of the editor of the Era, which cannot be considered superfluous, "begging everybody, for God's sake, to acknowledge him a great man." It is a favorite saying of theirs, that he is "a man of letters and statesmanlike views;" to the latter of which epithets they attach a meaning which is sufficiently enough to agree. I have faith to believe that so far as Abolitionists are concerned, the fate of the Era will soon be sealed.

It must not neglect to inform you of the handsome compliment paid by our City Council to the Honorable Henry Clay, on his return from the South. The party presented him with a small bell, cast of filings from the old Liberty Bell, which still hangs in the tower of the State house. This little bell is about three inches in diameter, furnished with a handle of rosewood, and is beautifully polished. The compliment was probably designed to salute him when he requires any menial service of them—such, for instance, as the blacking of his boots. You probably remember that one of his objections to Emancipation was, the difficulty which would exist in reference to this matter after Slavery was abolished. With great delicacy the Council omitted to send the bell in a carriage, but in large letters on the rim of the old bell: "PROCLAIM LIBERTY THROUGHOUT ALL THE LAND, UNTO ALL THE INHABITANTS THEREOF."

The second concert of the Hutchinsons was given last evening, in the large room of the Assembly Buildings. This room was filled to the very doors, and was also filled to overflowing. It is probable that many went away who were unable to find seats. The Musical Fund Hall was refused for the concert, except upon the conditions that coloured persons should be excluded, and all Anti-Slavery songs omitted. The Hutchinsons, of course, refused these degrading conditions, which they were bound, in consistency with their former conduct, to do. They were frequently applauded during the performance, though some hissing was heard at the conclusion of Miss Hutchinson's song, "The Slave Mother." The only thought that occurred to me during the singing of the latter was that they had so recently desecrated their powers, by singing a song of adulation to that archslaveholder, Henry Clay. It is said that this act is defended by some of the family on the ground of a conviction, well or ill-founded, that Mr. Clay will, ere long, be elected President of the United States. If such be the case in the family, it is regretted and condemned. Let us hope that they will all yet condemn it; and that they will refuse hereafter to reward repentance before it is certain.

Very truly yours,
H. W. G.

This Week's Paper.

FOURTH PAGE.—*Poetry: SIBERIA. Miscellany*: Chamber of Deputies—Extraordinary scene; The Abdication of Louis Philippe; Incidents of the French Revolution; Gleanings from Foreign Papers.

FIFTH PAGE.—Speech of Dubaie in the Senate on the Joint Resolution of Congratulation to the French; Foreign Slave-Trade; The French Revolution—Debate in House.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

Foreign.

Farther Days Later from Europe—Arrival of the Washington and Hibernia.

Financial Difficulties—Popular Agitations—Revolution in Austria—Outbreaks in Germany—Ireland Tranquil—Movements in Italy—Markets, &c.

The Ocean Steam Navigation Company's Steamer *Washington*, Captain Johnson, arrived at this port on Friday last, after a passage of 17 days. She sailed from Southampton on Tuesday, March 21st, and brings ten days later news.

The Hibernia also arrived on Sunday, with four days later news than that brought by the Washington. She left Liverpool on the 25th. We give the intelligence, brought by both, in full, copying and condensing from various exchange papers.

Queen Victoria has given birth to a princess. This is an increase to the taxes of Great Britain of £30,000.

A very exciting debate took place in the House of Commons on the 23d on a motion made by Mr. Bright, the well known anti Corn Law agitator, for leave to bring in a bill to abolish the Game Laws. Mr. Bright made a long speech against the Game Laws, and was followed by gentlemen on both sides, the most prominent of whom was Sir George Grey. A motion was made to postpone the debate, but was lost, and finally the House adjourned without taking the question on leave to bring in the bill.

ABOLITION OF CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—This measure was debated, for four hours on the 14th, but lost by 192 to 66.

Increase of Marines in the English Navy.—Anxious to have the ships of the line as well armed and manned as possible, the Admiralty have issued an order augmenting the force of marines by 2,000 men. The reinforcement will be distributed in the following manner:—To each ship of the line of 120 guns, 120 marines; of 100 guns, 100 marines; of 90 guns, 90 marines; of 80 guns, 80 marines; of 70 guns, 70 marines; of 60 guns, 60 marines; of 50 guns, 50 marines; of 40 guns, 40 marines; of 30 guns, 30 marines; of 20 guns, 20 marines.

M. Guizot and his Family.—The ex-Minister of Louis Philippe and his family (now Comte de Neuilly) and his family, have, as Protestants, joined the congregation of the French Church on Sunday, established in St. Martin le Grand. On Sunday, the 12th, Madame Guizot (the venerable mother of the ex-minister) and her two grandchildren attended the morning service, and were universally objects of interest.

Sympathy Meetings.—Meetings of sympathy with France have been held in various parts of the Kingdom. *Free Trade.*—These disturbances have not been repeated, and all is reported to be tranquil.

IRELAND.—*Dublin, March 24.*—The city is full of rumors of a meeting to be convened by the authorities to suppress the meeting of the Repealers. The Old and Young Ireland parties met together last night and adopted an address to the Queen, requesting him to convene a meeting of the citizens to express their satisfaction at the establishment of the Republic of France, and adopting an address to the Queen, asking for an immediate repeal of the Legislative Union.

Mr. John O'Connell issued and address to the people of Ireland, exhorting them to peace.

The Confederates, to the number of 3,000, met on the Mosaic Hall, which was covered with placards, inscribed "Courage! Forgiveness! Fraternity!" An address to the people of Ireland was adopted with great applause.

The Heads of the University of Dublin and the College of Surgeons have presented addresses to the Lord Lieutenant declaring their confidence in the Government and protesting against any attempt to induce a foreign power to interfere in any way with the affairs of Ireland.

A declaration in support of law and order is in circulation, and has received thousands of signatures, numbering among them many of the principal prelates and peers of Ireland.

Revolutionary Movements.—The *United Irishmen* has published a most violent and indignant address to the Lord Lieutenant, in which he is styled "*Her Majesty's Executioner General and General Butcher of Ireland!*"—The writer testifies his joy that the "abortion of a Constitution" has gone, and that the people of Ireland and their mortal foes now stand on public ground.

Mr. Smith O'Brien made a speech at the Confederation meeting, calling upon the Irish to imitate the example of the Parisians in the arms adopted by France. He recommends the people to fraternize with the British soldiers, whose one third of which is of Irish origin; also with the police force, which consists of 10,000 men. He advised the formation of a brigade in America, from Irish soldiers in the service.

Local repeal meetings are constantly being held.

25th. The meeting on the 20th passed off without any disorderly occurrence. To-day the city is quite tranquil.

FRANCE.—The most startling event in this country is the partial suspension of specie payments by the Bank of France. This took place on the 17th.

It would appear that the pressure, deplorable as it is, could not have been avoided. The run upon the Bank of France on Wednesday was awful. The applicants for money were so numerous that they were obliged to place themselves *en queue*, as at the entrance to the theatres on crowded nights; and, although this facility enabled the multitude to get their money in a shorter time, it is said that the whole receipts were a tenth part in cash, four-tenths in a paper note of the Treasury, bearing interest, and the other half in stock, which, at the present time, fluctuates. It is really awful to consider what effect such a blow must produce on the condition of the best portion of the labouring classes in Paris.

In this crisis the Government have resorted to additional loans as appears by a decree in the *Moniteur* of the 17th.

19th.—The new five franc piece of the Republic were put into circulation to-day. The Bank of France even cash for its notes to those who require silver to pay their workmen.

Domestic Policy of the Provisional Government.—On the 13th ult. M. Ledru-Rollin published a circular, addressed to the Commissioner of the Provisional Government, which created considerable alarm. The fear was deemed too conservative. A deposition of the Republican cloth for the liberty of the press. They also

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

STANZAS.

Oh how this mortal frame of ours
Is moulded by the bowl!
How buoyant when bliss-giving powers
Its impulses control;
How leaden when woe's whelming hours
In sullen surges roll!

The eye doth wear not the same hue,
In sorrow and in joy;
And when its lashes teem and strew
How quickly they destroy
The lines, in lips, to beauty true,
Of the gay archer's toy!

The step, in joy a thing of air,
In grief is all of earth!
The brow, which glowed serene and fair,
With thoughts of happy birth,
What changed expression it doth wear,
When woe surrounds the hearth!

But most the voice—the lyre of soul,
Doth vibrate to the last,
How deep the bass doth o'er it roll
If troubled but too much!
How light its music when the whole
That leaps within is such!

And would we deeper look, how far,
Far greater there each change!
Could we but see each nerve ajar,
When grief within hath range,
How it doth every process mar
Of instrument so strange!

See blood congealed which floweth warm
In life's more genial hour;
Or back in torrents poured to harm
This work of wond'rous power,
Which yet resists, by secret charm,
The ruin which doth lower!

Oh! is there not a lesson here
'Neath which the soul must bend,
In adoration deep, sincere,
To the Great Architect—the Friend—
Who sendeth not one idle tear,
One smile in vain doth lend!

CYLLENE.

Miscellany.

From the London Times.

CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES—EXTRAORDINARY SCENES.

SITTING OF FEBRUARY 24.

The public sitting was to have taken place at three o'clock, a meeting in the morning being appointed to be holden previously, but the important events of the morning caused a change in the order of proceeding.

The President took the chair at one o'clock.

About three hundred deputies were present from the commencement of the sitting, but nothing was done for some time.

M. C. Laffite—Gentlemen, I address myself to all parties in this Chamber, particularly to the members of the extremities, praying them to keep calm in all angry passions. (Hear, hear.) Looking at the circumstances in which we are now placed I propose to the Chamber to declare itself in permanence. (Loud cries of "Yes, yes.")

M. Dutier—I demand to have the proposition postponed, and that the Chamber simply declares itself sitting, with the faculty of afterwards adopting such measures as it may deem advisable. ("Yes, yes.")

M. De Cambacerès—I propose that the Chamber shall remain in permanence until the end of the crisis. ("Yes, yes.")

The President—There cannot be any other question of permanence than this—the Chamber has opened its sitting, and will remain so as long as no motion be made to adjourn it. (Hear, hear.)

About half-past one it was announced that that the Duchesse d'Orleans and the two young Princes, her sons, were about to arrive. Shortly after a movement was apparent in the centre and to the left of the Chamber, and the Duchess and her two sons entered, followed by the Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Montpensier. The Comte de Paris entered first of all, a pencil and paper in his hand. With difficulty he penetrated as far as the semicircle in front of the President's chair, so encumbered was it with Deputies and National Guard. His presence, and that of the rest of the Royal party, created a great sensation. The Duchess seated herself in an armchair, with her sons at each side of her in the wide space just mentioned.

Almost immediately after, the passages to the various parts of the Chamber were filled with an immense body of the people and National Guards, both armed. Cries of "You cannot enter!" "You have no right to enter!" were then heard; but the next moment a number of men belonging to the people forced their way into the Chamber, and placed themselves right under the tribune.

The Duchess of Orleans, then rose, and taking the young Princes by the hand, led them to the range of seats forming the pourtour behind the Deputies, and still exactly in front of the President. The Duke de Nemours and the Duke de Montpensier placed themselves in the last line of seats, immediately behind the Princes and her sons. The greatest agitation prevailed in every part of the Chamber, and it was a moment after increased by the public tribunes being rushed into by another body of the people.

M. Dupin then ascended the tribune, and amidst deep silence said—In the present situation of the capital and the critical circumstances in which the country is placed, the Chamber was bound to assemble immediately. The King has just abdicated. (Sensation.) He has disposed of the Crown in favour of his grandson, the Count de Paris, and has constituted the Duchess of Orleans Regent. (Applause from all the benches of the Centre, and from some of the public tribunes, and with loud disapprobation on the left.)

A Voice from one of the Tribunes—It is too late!

An agitation, impossible to be described, here arose. A number of Deputies collected round the Duchess of Orleans and the rest of the Royal group. National Guards without ceremony came and mingled with the Deputies who had come to.

M. Marie ascended the Tribune, but was obliged to remain there a length of time without being able to obtain a hearing. At last, with much difficulty, he said—Gentlemen, in the situation in which Paris now is, it is both necessary and urgent for us to adopt some measure which may have some authority with the population. Since this morning the evil has made much progress. (Hear, hear.) What course will you take? Just now the Duchess of Orleans was announced as Regent, but a law exists which gives the Regency to the Duke de Nemours, and you cannot, at the present moment, pass a law to revoke it. We have no other way than to nominate a Provisional Government—(loud cries from the left of "Hear, hear,")—not to give instructions, but to confide to them the two Chambers on the necessity of satisfying the wishes of the country.

M. Cremieux—In the interest of the public safety a great measure is necessary. It is important that every one should be of the same mind to proclaim a great principle, and to insure to the victorious people serious guarantees. You are not do as in 1830, since it has been found necessary to commence again in 1848, what was then done. (Applause.) We cannot at the present moment do less than establish a Provisional Government. (Cries of "No, no!") I have the greatest respect for the Duchess of Orleans; (Cries of "Bravo, brave!") and I just now conducted the Royal family to the carriage which bore them away.

A Voice—*Bon voyage!* (Murmurs.)

M. Cremieux—The population of Paris has shown the most profound respect for the King's misfortune, but we who have been sent here to enact the laws cannot violate them. A law already voted disposes of the Regency, and I cannot admit that it can be abrogated at this moment. Since we have come to the point of undergoing a Revolution, let us confide ourselves to the country. I propose a Provisional Government of five Members. (Numerous voices in the Tribunes—" Yes, yes.")

The Abbé de Genoude ascended the tribune, and was about to address the Chamber, when M. O. Barrot entered.

Numerous voices—"O Barrot to the tribune. Let O. Barrot speak!"

The Abbé de Genoude—I have only a word to say. (M. O. Barrot, who had ascended the Tribune, signified his acquiescence, and remained standing with his back against the President's bureau.) The Abbé said—You cannot effect anything without the co-operation of the people. You tried it in 1830, and you see what has come to pass.

M. O. Barrot—Never have we had need of more coolness and patience. May we be allowed to add one sentiment—that of saving our country from the most dreadful of visitations—a civil war. (Applause.) Nations, like individuals, have their hours become weak from intestine dissensions, and France never had more need than now of all her force—of the aid of all her children. Our duty, then, is traced out—it calls on us to unite ourselves to what is most generous in the heart of the nation. The Crown of July rests on the head of a child and a woman. (Loud marks of assent from the greatest part of the Chamber,—great disapprobation from the public Tribunes). It is a solemn appeal.

The Duchess of Orleans here rose, and pronounced some words which we could not catch. The persons near her appeared to recommend her to sit down.

M. O. Barrot—It is in the name of the political liberty existing in our country, of the necessities of order which have come out to every eye, in the name of the union and accord which ought to reign amongst all good citizens, that I call on all my colleagues to support this double representation of the revolution of July. (Renewed assent and disapprobation as before.) I would give my life one thousand times to ensure the triumph of the cause of liberty in my country—

The Marquis de Larochejaquelin—You do not know what you are doing.

M. O. Barrot—It be that any one can imagine that what was decided by the revolution of July can be again called in question? (Great agitation.) Gentlemen, the work, I admit, could but there are such elements of generosity, greatness, and good sense in this country, that it suffices to appeal to them to induce the whole population to rally round the standard I display. (Murmurs in the Tribunes.) Our duty is simple—it is traced out by the laws and by honour. If we do not fulfil it with courage, I cannot say what the consequence will be; but be certain of this, that whoever should dare to incur the responsibility of a civil war, would be the highest degree criminal towards his country. (Hear, hear.) For my part, what I conceive to be most fitting for the situation is this—the Regency of the Duchess of Orleans, a Ministry chosen from the most tried opinions, and an appeal to the country, which will pronounce with full liberty, in an extent sanctioned by law. Such is my opinion, and I cannot consent to assume the responsibility of any other situation. (Applause.)

The Marquis de Larochejaquelin—Gentlemen, I feel the most profound respect for what must be painful in the position of certain persons. I am, perhaps, more than another called on to defend the people and liberty. But I must reply to M. O. Barrot that I cannot have here the intention of upholding a particular opinion; that honourable gentleman has not comprehended the sentiment which animates me. Gentlemen, we are here as nothing—

Loud cries from all sides of "Order, order!"

The President—M. de Larochejaquelin, you are sinning against the respect due to the Chamber. I call you to order.

The Marquis de Larochejaquelin—When I affirm that you are nothing, I do not mean to say that the Chamber is annulled.

A person, not belonging to the Chamber, M. Chevallier, editor of the Bibliothèque Historique, here ascended the tribune. Great confusion ensued.

M. Chevallier—I shall speak with the greatest moderation. (" You have no right to be there.") Gentlemen of opposition, you have the right to speak, being authorized to do so; but if the Duchess of Orleans and the young Count have sufficient courage to go along the boulevards, in the midst of the people and National Guard, I will answer for their safety. If the people will not consent to confer on him the Crown—

A Voice in the crowd—" Vive la Republique!"

M. Chevallier—What you have now to do is to give us a Government, and to give it at once; you cannot leave a moment in which all authority is annulled, without directing heads. (The noise prevented the voice of the speaker from being heard.)

At this moment a vast crowd broke into the Chamber. They were mingled in the most tumultuous manner, some in blouses with dragoons' helmets on their heads; others with cross-belts and infantry shakos, others with common every clothes, but with arms—swords, lances, spears, muskets, and tri-coloured flags. These persons at once seized on such Deputies as they had recognized, several of whom ascended the tribune, and fixed themselves there. The President perceiving what had occurred, and in order to mark his disapprobation, as well, perhaps, as to show that his own safety could not be secure, left such circumstances, put on his hat. This created a dreadful uproar, and numerous cries "Off with your hat, President!" "Keep on your hat!" were heard. Several of them even directed their muskets at him. The scene was of almost unimaginable violence.

M. Ledru-Rollin, from his place, overpowering the tumult with his voice—Gentlemen, in the name of the people, I call for silence!

A number of Deputies, appearing to consider their position perilous, began to withdraw, and as they abandoned their places, the crowd took possession of them. Many of others were dressed in the most fantastic manner, some in blouses with dragoons' helmets on their heads; others with cross-belts and infantry shakos, others with common every clothes, but with arms—swords, lances, spears, muskets, and tri-coloured flags. These persons at once seized on such Deputies as they had recognized, several of whom ascended the tribune, and fixed themselves there. The President perceiving what had occurred, and in order to mark his disapprobation, as well, perhaps, as to show that his own safety could not be secure, left such circumstances, put on his hat. This created a dreadful uproar, and numerous cries"